

Unmasking UCLA

Divestment Research Executive Summary

Introduction

Students at the University of California, Los Angeles and all over the world are steadfast in our demands for our universities to end their complicity in Israel's genocide of the Palestinian people and their contributions to the broader American war machine. The University of California must end their profiteering from the suffering of colonized peoples and immediately cease investments in all Israeli-tied companies to end this serious conflict of interest. We reject the UC's claim that they cannot disclose their investments, divest, and boycott the Zionist entity, while simultaneously spending enormous sums of money to militarize our campuses and directly invest in genocide. We will continue our fight until Palestine is fully liberated and our demands are met entirely and without exception:

- **Divest** all UC-wide and UCLA Foundation funds from companies and institutions involved in the Israeli occupation, apartheid, and genocide of the Palestinian people.
- **Disclose** all UC-wide and UCLA Foundation assets and funding sources, including but not limited to contracts, grants, gifts, and investments.
- **Boycott** all academic ties to occupation and genocide. Terminate all gifts, grants, contracts, and endowed positions funded by weapons manufacturers directly perpetuating the genocide of the Palestinians.
- **Abolish** all policing on our campus.

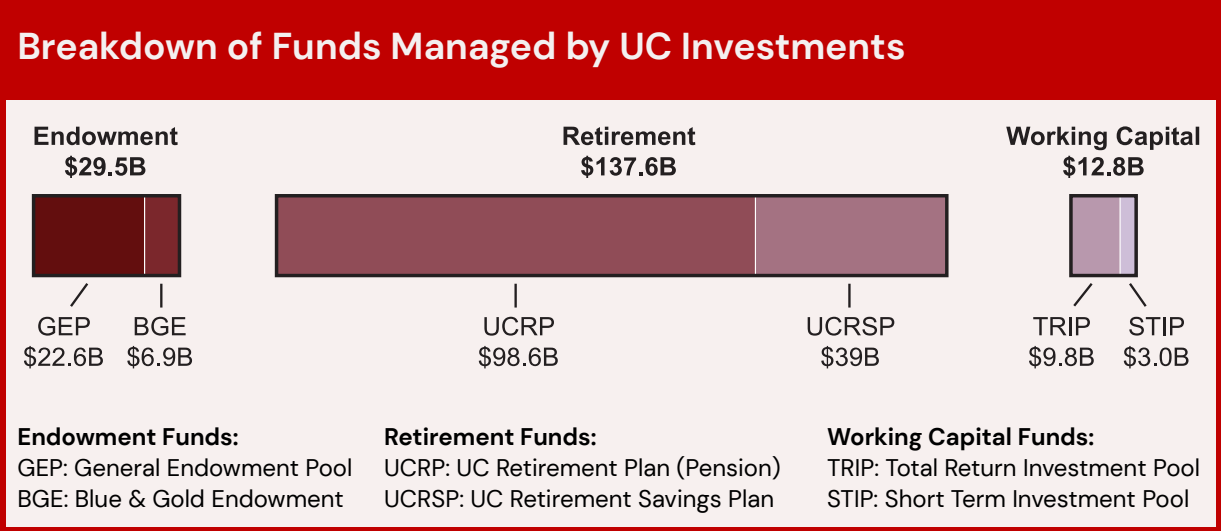
Instead of negotiating in good faith regarding our demands, the UC system has imposed draconian restrictions on our freedom of assembly and right to privacy, including by unlawfully arresting 289 protesters, spending \$12.3 million on policing and surveillance during the Spring 2024 quarter alone, allowing Zionist mobs to gather on campus to harass and attack students, canceling Palestine-focused events, and weaponizing academic repression against those who stand against genocide. Since the latest escalation in Israel's genocide, UCLA has arrested more student protesters than in the entire history of the institution up to that point *combined*. Despite the storied history of student activism on UC's campuses, we have never seen this level of repression associated with any other cause, begging the questions, why now, why this, and why is the UC so anti-Palestinian? Our research has revealed that the UC Regents and UCLA have every incentive to illegally repress us and refuse to engage with calls for divestment because of their *financial positioning*. Their actions have proved they would rather see us dead than divest.

Our white paper scrutinizes how the UC has willfully bound itself to settler-colonial ambitions for genocide and apartheid through its investments in companies that profit from violence and dispossession, partnerships through research programs developing military technologies, funding from Department of Defense and other state agencies, commercial contracts with military contractors, and ties to policing and surveillance. UC Investments has strategically embedded itself in the complex structure of alternative investment vehicles which obscure its direct connections to specific companies. To be an ethical institution, UC Investments must sever ties with investment firms whose portfolio companies are implicated in apartheid and genocide and disclose its financial support to community stakeholders like students and workers. When it comes to public equity, UC Investments must remove companies known to be engaging in war profiteering from its index funds, following the blueprint laid out when it "de-risked" from fossil fuel companies, but without the same deceptive tactics and surreptitious exceptions. The analysis in our white paper reveals **\$18.8 billion of UC assets in public equity, private equity, and private credit** that should be targeted for divestment based on their links to war, settler-colonialism, apartheid, and genocide. Ours is not an exhaustive analysis, as much of UC's investment portfolio remains unaccountable to transparency or disclosure. As students, faculty, and staff of the University and as taxpayers to this public institution, we all deserve to know how our University's funds are invested and deny the financial and political support for the occupation and murder of the Palestinian people.

Disclose and Divest

UC Investments

UC Investments, which operates under the UC Regents and the UC Office of the President, manages the UC’s retirement funds and a large portion of the system-wide endowments. According to the latest figure presented by Chief Investment Officer Jagdeep Bachher during a UC Regents meeting, assets under the management of UC Investments amount to **\$180 billion** as of June 2024.



Public Equity

UC Investments holds about **\$79 billion** in public equity across the endowment, pension, and working capital funds it manages. Public equity constitutes the largest asset class (56.4%) in UC Investments’ portfolio. In this section, we highlight some of UC’s known financial links to publicly traded companies that profit from the Israeli apartheid regime.

Direct Investments	Indirect Investments
<p>According to the 13F filing for Q1 2024, UC Investments <i>directly</i> holds the following investments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• \$3.9 million in Exxon Mobil. Exxon has previously provided Israel with fuel for fighter jets, bombers, attack helicopters, tanks, and other military vehicles used in well-documented atrocities against Palestinians.• \$880 thousand in GE. GE manufactures engines used in aircraft directly involved in bombing Gaza, including F-15’s (Boeing), F-16’s and F-35’s (Lockheed), Apaches (Boeing), and Black Hawks (Lockheed).• \$870 thousand in Honeywell. The munitions fired by the above aircrafts include bombs and missiles produced by RTX and Boeing. Key components in these weapons are produced by Honeywell and Northrop. Honeywell is also notable for its role in the development and manufacturing of cluster bombs. Israel’s use of cluster munitions in Lebanon in 2006 left behind unexploded submunitions that remain a deadly threat to Lebanese civilians.• However, in Q2 2024, UC Investments quietly removed about \$160 million in previously reported securities by claiming that they do not have (and never had) “discretionary authority over such securities.” This does not mean that UC sold its stake in these companies, but that UC found an excuse to withhold disclosure of certain investments.	<p>By our estimates, UC Investments indirectly holds \$12.3 billion worth of publicly traded companies with documented ties to apartheid and genocide.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Of the \$12.3 billion, \$1.6 billion is in weapons manufacturers, \$8.7 billion is in information technology companies that have Israeli government contracts, and \$268 million is in the surveillance and cyberwarfare industry. Through its global index fund (MSCI ACWI IMI), UC Investments indirectly holds \$124 million worth of shares in Israeli companies, such as Elbit Systems, NICE Ltd., Teva Pharmaceutical, CyberArk Software, and the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.• It’s important to note that these numbers are likely an underestimate. Our analysis looks at the top 3 indices that UC Investments track, which accounts for \$60.3 billion out of the \$66.8 billion (or 90%) of total public equity holdings reported in the 2024 GEP and UCRP holdings. We are only able to account for \$60.3 billion (or 77%) out of the combined \$78 billion worth of public equity holdings across the endowment, pension, and working capital funds.

Private Equity

Private equity funds provide investors a way to indirectly invest in private companies. Private equity firms typically go to institutional investors, including university endowments and public pensions, to raise cash for their funds. These funds will then take this pool of capital to purchase stakes in private companies. Through GEP and UCRP, the UC has a combined total of \$14.5 billion invested in private equity. The following table highlights UC’s investments in private equity firms (**\$5.3 billion**) with ties to companies involved in weapons manufacturing, surveillance, and cybersecurity, including startups based in Israel.

Private Equity Investments with Ties to Israel and Weapons Manufacturing (June 2024)

Private Equity Firm	Fund	Value	Summary of Firms and Their Portfolio Companies
Thoma Bravo (Funds and Co-Investments)	GEP	\$900,237,527	UC Investments has a longstanding relationship with many private equity firms, including asset management giants that focus on buyouts (e.g., Blackstone, Apollo, and Warburg Pincus) and venture capital firms that focus on startups (e.g., Sequoia).
	UCRP	\$1,879,281,525	
Blackstone (Private Equity Assets Only)	GEP	\$383,086,370	UC's investments with Apollo help fund companies like Constellis , the direct successor of the notorious mercenary group Blackwater (see below). Apollo also owns Arconic and Barnes Aerospace , which supply components and aftermarket parts for weapons systems, and Atlas Air , which runs documented flights between US bases and Israel, presumably for weapons delivery. Apollo CEO Marc Rowan has called for university donors to "close your checkbooks" in response to Palestine solidarity encampments. The irony is blatant – while calling to defund our universities, this billionaire leeches off our endowment and pension to fund his blood-soaked enterprises.
	UCRP	\$1,334,688,975	
Sequoia Capital (Funds and Co-Investments)	GEP	\$822,539,816	UC also invests with Warburg Pincus , owner of the world's largest private security force Allied Universal and former owner of Transdigm , a company notable for price gouging the government by monopolizing spare parts for weapons systems. Now one of the world's largest arms suppliers, Transdigm has attained its position with the help of private equity funding. Our report links the UC to the Warburg Pincus fund that directly owned Transdigm.
	UCRP	\$522,178,972	
TPG Capital (Funds and Co-Investments)	GEP	\$81,864,106	Sequoia Capital , the premier venture capital firm from Silicon Valley, is leading the charge to invest in weapons manufacturing, surveillance tech, and Israeli cybersecurity startups. General partner Shaun Maguire, known as the "Musk Whisperer" for his ties to Elon Musk and his companies, announced during the Tel Aviv DefenseTech Summit that "defense tech has become the hottest field for venture capital funds, not least thanks to the war in Ukraine and also the war in Israel, which have normalized this field." Sequoia has invested in startups such as Neros , which Maguire claims to have deployed functional drones in Ukraine, Mach Industries , which aims to develop new weapons system to "ensure American dominance," and most recently Kela , which is a secretive Israeli defense tech startup. Sequoia has also invested in geospatial intelligence startup Orbital Insight , a slew of Musk's companies , and Israeli cybersecurity startups.
	UCRP	\$376,516,801	
Arsenal Capital (Funds and Co-Investments)	GEP	\$121,271,274	Many firms have substantial investments in the tech sector, which includes cybersecurity and surveillance companies. Examples of Israeli-founded cybersecurity investments (many with ties to IDF Unit 8200) include Axonius , Wiz , Oasis Security , Zafran Security , Cyera , and Imperva .
	UCRP	\$284,441,875	
H.I.G. Capital (Private Equity Assets Only)	GEP	\$108,566,129	These private equity firms also own or invest in major military contractors (Iron Bow Technologies , WBB , Empower AI), middle-market suppliers of weapons components (SMTC , Segers Aero , Fralock , Headwall Photonics , Extant Aerospace), surveillance technology (Darktrace , Magnet Forensics , Grayshift , Verkada), and cybersecurity/intelligence (C3.ai , Expanse , Everfox , Wind River , Sayari , Linquest).
	UCRP	\$198,530,938	
Clearlake Capital (Funds and Co-Investments)	GEP	\$66,697,861	
	UCRP	\$195,634,650	
Stripes Group (Funds and Co-Investments)	GEP	\$229,230,677	
	UCRP	\$0	
Apollo Global Management (Private Equity Assets Only)	GEP	\$10,744,482	
	UCRP	\$166,492,577	
K1 Investment (K5 Fund and Co-Investments)	GEP	\$0	
	UCRP	\$173,480,227	
ICONIQ Capital (Funds and Co-Investments)	GEP	\$49,050,641	
	UCRP	\$40,860,934	
Madison Dearborn	GEP	\$87,782,362	
	UCRP	\$0	
Engine Ventures (Funds and Co-Investments)	GEP	\$54,662,067	
	UCRP	\$17,045,355	
Warburg Pincus (Fund XI and XII)	GEP	\$0	
	UCRP	\$56,896,737	
NeoTribe Ventures	GEP	\$51,921,190	
	UCRP	\$0	

Blackwater

Of all the unethical companies tied to the UC, none has had a more egregious history of atrocities than **Blackwater**. Blackwater rose to notoriety as a private military contractor during the illegal U.S. occupation of Iraq. Mercenaries from **Blackwater** perpetrated the **Nisour Square Massacre**, killing 17 Iraqi civilians. The mercenaries were convicted but subsequently pardoned by President Trump. In the wake of public outcry over their war crimes, Blackwater rebranded itself to Academia and was eventually folded into **Constellis**, a conglomerate that owns multiple mercenary groups.

Apollo acquired Constellis for \$1 billion in 2016. Public records ([10-K SEC filing](#) and [AP VIII Eagle LM5 LLC registration](#)) indicate that the specific fund that owns Constellis is Apollo Fund VIII. According to its most recent private equity returns [disclosure](#), **UC Investments contributed a total of \$78 million to Apollo Fund VIII, netting \$30 million from this investment.**

U.S. mercenary forces are now on the ground in the Netzarim Corridor, the strip of land that separates northern and southern Gaza. Even before the ceasefire, Constellis maintained a presence in occupied Palestine. A piece from *The Intercept*

documented a TikTok campaign to recruit contractors for **Triple Canopy**, a “private security” subsidiary of Constellis, to guard secretive U.S. military installations near Israeli settlements. Constellis has posted ads as recently as November 2024 that corroborate their involvement with Israel.

In anything remotely resembling a just world, Blackwater should have been litigated to the ground and left to rot in infamy. Instead, it weathered the public outrage, was rescued by private equity funding (**in part by the UC via Apollo**), and lives on to this day, primed to profit from Israel's need for mercenaries in its occupation of Gaza.

Private Credit

Through GEP and UCRP, UC Investments holds a combined \$3.6 billion private credit assets. Our analysis implicates **\$1.2 billion** of this private credit portfolio in war-profiteering. Private credit effectively lets institutional investors act as non-bank lenders, extending loans to businesses and receiving returns in the form of interest payments. UC Investments has an extensive relationship with Blue Owl, one of the largest managers of business development companies (BDC), which lends to and purchases stakes in small and middle-market businesses. As recently as 2023, UC Regents was the largest shareholder of Blue Owl's flagship OBDC and maintains 12.3% and 12.2% ownership of two Blue Owl Technology BDCs. Through their investments in BDCs, UC indirectly lends to major military contractors (**Peraton, ManTech International, Xpect Solutions**), middle-market and aftermarket suppliers of weapons components (**STS Aviation, Ontic, StandardAero, Valence Surface Technologies, Applied Composites**), surveillance technology (**Magnet Forensics, C Speed, Global K9 Protection Group**), and Israeli cybersecurity companies (**Forescout, CheckMarx**). Through BDCs, UC is also an indirect shareholder of Elon Musk's **SpaceX** and **Axonius** (cybersecurity firm linked to IDF Unit 8200).

UC also appears to have a direct loan extended to **Fralock**, a middle-market manufacturer of components found in UAVs, combat gear, and aircraft. Fralock was acquired by Arsenal Capital (a private equity partner of UC Investments) in a transaction that included \$87.5 million of financing from TwinBrook Capital Partners. UC Investments' disclosures report a “Fralock Twin Brook” line item (\$100 million in the [2020 GEP holdings](#) and \$25 million in the [2024 GEP holdings](#)), suggesting that **UC acted a direct and sizable financier of Fralock's capital needs**.

Musk University

While this paper focuses on exposing our university's extensive ties to war, genocide, and apartheid, it is also important to recognize that these same institutional structures are connected to the ongoing budgetary assault on our universities. As academic workers become activated to “resist” and “protest” the tangible threats to their livelihoods, keep in mind that the oligarchs in power attained their wealth and influence with the financial backing of institutions like our universities. UC Investments holds **\$911 million in Tesla stock** (according to [analyses](#) based on available data; the total is likely more) and is linked to Musk's private enterprises – **SpaceX, xAI, X** (formerly, **Twitter**), and **The Boring Company** – through investments with **Sequoia** and **Blue Owl Capital**. Notably, Sequoia contributed \$800 million to help finance [Musk's messy takeover of Twitter](#), which ended up playing a substantial role in electing Trump and elevating Musk's status within the new administration. The UC also has \$340 million invested in Brookfield Strategic Real Estate Partners III, which [purchased](#) the failing **666 Fifth Avenue** skyscraper in NYC from the real estate company of Trump's son-in-law and White House advisor **Jared Kushner**.

Here's the full picture: Musk's shitcoin-inspired DOGE agency is drastically slashing funding to academic institutions, while the Trump administration rewards Musk's companies with lucrative government contracts. The administration is [reportedly planning a \\$400 million purchase](#) of Tesla Cybertrucks, and SpaceX is pushing [the FAA to replace its telecommunications infrastructure with Starlink](#). The UC gets to profit from these transparently quid pro quo deals, while their workers bear the brunt of austerity measures resulting from DOGE's budget cuts.

It's been abundantly clear that **the UC has no qualms about investing in companies that harm Palestinians**, but the current budgetary crisis should serve as a stark reminder that this callousness extends to its academic community. The UC blindly follows the logic of “maximizing risk-adjusted returns” to justify its investments in unethical companies, and in doing so, contributes to environmental disasters, socioeconomic instability, war, and genocide.

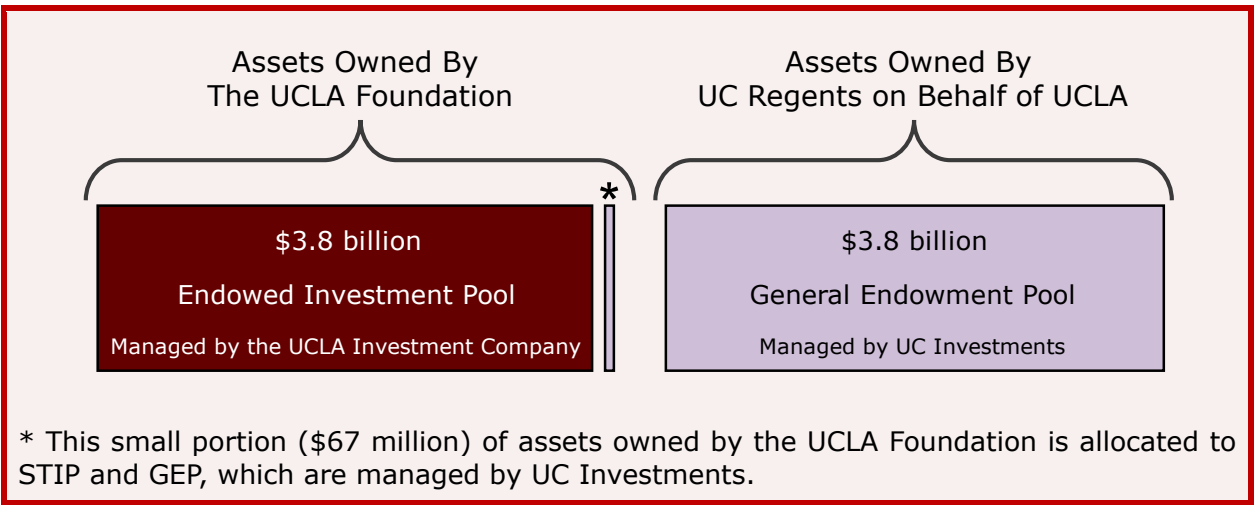
We reject the UC Investments’ position that “maximizing risk-adjusted returns” should take precedence over social responsibility. Our institutions must divest from companies that contradicts the values of our community, lest they ultimately harm the very “beneficiaries” they claim to serve. At a minimum, we demand the adherence to basic human rights and the divestment from companies that profit from war, genocide, and apartheid.

BlackRock

UC Investments are specifically intertwined and reliant on BlackRock, the world’s largest investing institution in weapon manufacturing. Blackrock **manages \$2.1 billion in public bonds** on behalf of UC Investments. In 2018, UC Investments signed a deal with BlackRock assigning them as a 6–12 month special investment advisor for private equity deals that came to the UC’s table. In addition to the **\$113 million the UC passively invests in BlackRock**, allowing them to manage billions in bonds and contracting them as an advisor solidifies the UC’s complicity in profiting off weapons manufacturing, genocide and war worldwide.

UCLA Endowment

The above UC Endowment does not include the value of the endowments managed individually by each UC campus. According to the [FY2023 Annual Endowment Report](#), the UCLA endowment is worth \$7.7 billion, about half of which is managed by UC Regents and half by the UCLA Foundation. The \$3.8 billion managed by UC Regents are invested in the general endowment pool (GEP) run by UC Investments and the remaining \$3.8 billion is under management of the UCLA Foundation. Unlike the GEP and UCRP, **UCLA Foundation does not disclose the holdings in its portfolio**. We demand immediate disclosure of this portfolio.



Donor Advised Funds

In addition to overseeing its endowment funds, Campus Foundations are tasked with the logistics of fundraising and receiving gifts. One of the main gift-giving vehicles offered by Campus Foundations are donor-advised funds. The UCLA Foundation provides grants to external organizations, **including groups affiliated with police departments and the Israeli lobby**, as part of donor agreements or donor advised funds (Form 990, Schedule I). Between FY2018–2023, the UCLA Foundation gave \$175K to [American Israel Education Foundation](#) (AIEF), which is an initiative by AIPAC, the premier Israeli lobby of America, to create an AIPAC-controlled fund for higher education donations. In the same period, the UCLA Foundation also gave the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) \$110K. The ADL is central to the Zionist propaganda apparatus aimed at stoking violence towards student protestors, including an [op-ed from the ADL’s president](#) that expressly calls for turning college campuses “into a police state.” The following table summarizes UCLA Foundation’s disbursements to external charities with ties to the police and Israeli lobby.

Contributions from the UCLA Foundation to External Charities		
Recipient	Contribution	Brief Description
Los Angeles Police Foundation	2022: \$100,000	Police Foundations are shadowy organizations that provide funds for affiliated police departments (in this case, the LAPD) to procure equipment while avoiding public scrutiny. The Los Angeles Police Foundation has reportedly purchased Palantir software (used in conjunction with UCLA-founded PredPol as part of a predictive policing program), drones, and a robot dog for the LAPD. UC Regent Jonathan “Jay” Sures sits on the board of the Los Angeles Police Foundation.
West Los Angeles Police and Community Together	2022: \$50,000	This foundation is affiliated with the West LA Community Police Station. According to their website , donations “are utilized to acquire much needed equipment not budgeted by the Police Department.”
American Israel Education Foundation	2023: \$25,000 2022: \$50,000 2021: \$25,000 2020: \$50,000 2018: \$25,000	AIEF was founded by AIPAC for the purpose of financing trips to Israel for lawmakers and other high-profile individuals. AIEF enables AIPAC to avoid restrictions preventing lobbying groups from providing lawmakers with lavish vacations. However, AIPAC’s lobbying resulted in a work-around known as the “AIPAC loophole,” which carves out an exception for “educational” trips.
American Friends of the Hebrew University	2022: \$33,689	The AFHU supports ties between US universities and students. AFHU provides financial aid for IDF soldiers and reservists. Their “ We Are One ” campaign, which was launched on October 9, 2023, whitewashes the history of Israeli settlement in Ofakim, which was ethnically cleansed by Israel in 1948.
American Friends of Lubavitch	2023: \$10,000	American Friends of Lubavitch was founded in 1998 in Washington DC Since October 7, it has awarded politicians for their support for Israel in US politics, including Real Estate Roundtable president Jeffrey DeBoer and Speaker of the House, Republican Mike Johnson.
Anti-Defamation League	2019: \$10,000 2018: \$100,000	The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has worked actively to undermine pro-Palestinian speech. ADL CEO Jonathan Greenblatt has expressly urged universities to crack down on protesters, ban face coverings, and implement draconian restrictions on civil liberties to curb pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel speech. Greenblatt was also a headline speaker at the Israeli American Council’s counterprotest, which exacerbated tensions in the lead-up to the violent attacks on UCLA’s Palestine Solidarity Encampment in April and May 2024. This track record has not undermined Greenblatt’s relationship with UC leadership. Greenblatt held a lectureship position at the UCLA Anderson School of Management and new UCLA Chancellor Julio Frenk received a personal vote of confidence from him.
Sources: UCLA Foundation Form 990-PFs from 2018–2023 .		

UC Board of Regents’ Conflicts of Interest

In 2022, the private equity firm EQT X [fund acquired the largest minority stake](#) in United Talent Agency (UTA), of which current UC Regent Jay Sures is president. They also appointed former UC regent Paul Wachter as UTA [chairman](#), and made him a [senior advisor for EQT](#). That same year, UC Investments acquired a \$27 million stake in EQT X and has committed \$200 million in total, alongside \$151 million in co-investments with EQT. Due to a lack of transparency, the specific companies included in these co-investments remain unknown. However, this investment, along with UC’s broader financial ties to Wachter’s firm and UTA through EQT X, appears to violate **California Government Code § 1090**, which prohibits public officials from having financial interests in contracts made in their official capacity.

Jay Sures [is outspoken](#) in his [pro-Zionist views](#) and advocacy for [restricting free speech](#) among UC faculty. Paul Wachter, a former UC Regent and chair of the Investment Committee until 2016, is the founder and CEO of Main Street Advisors. Given that a current and former UC Regent hold key leadership roles at UTA, we demand that UC Investments disclose and resolve any conflicts of interest arising from these financial entanglements.

Accessibility in Disclosure

When we demand disclosure, that includes all UC-wide and UCLA Foundation assets and funding sources, including but not limited to contracts, grants, gifts, and investments. These should be publicly available in an easily accessible and perpetually up-to-date database that can be exported for analytical purposes. UCLA has had a long history of claiming information is public while creating physical and technological barriers to accessing that information. They set up emails and phone numbers that no one responds to, hide information in lengthy reports, and put information behind inaccessible logins. When we demand disclosure, we mean actual transparency in the information that is provided and the way it is provided to the public.

Boycott

Defense Research

In just one year, Israel dropped over [70,000 tons of explosives on Gaza](#), more than five times the weight of the nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima, in an area three times smaller. Such devastation and carnage is the outcome of a long pipeline of research and development, including work carried out at academic institutions. UCLA labs conduct research in **bomb manufacturing, hypersonic missiles, laser weapons, AI-assisted targeting, and military aircraft** – all technologies directly implicated in the bombing of Gaza. The UCLA community, especially workers whose labor feeds into this body of militarized research, has a right to know the extent that UCLA’s research fuels violence and bloodshed around the globe.

UCLA Defense Research				
Bomb Manufacturing	Hypersonic Missiles	Military Aircraft	AI-Assisted Targeting	Laser Weapons
The Water Technologies Group , led by UCLA Professor of Civil and Environmental Engineering, David Jassby, contributes to a DoD-funded project aimed at improving BAE Systems' bomb manufacturing process, who operates the Holston Army Ammunition Plant, a facility that produces explosives used in munitions such as the 155M artillery shells and Hellfire missiles that the U.S. supplies to Israel .	UCLA collaborates extensively with the Air Force Research Laboratory at Edwards Air Base via the Collaborative Center for Aerospace Studies . Professor Ann Karagozian, who leads the Energy and Propulsion Research Lab , conducts research testing air-launched missiles using F-15 aircraft , with the objective of developing missiles that can reach hypersonic speeds in the Mach 3-6 range .	UCLA employs Professor Jason Speyer, whose 50-year career has made him an expert “on the guidance, navigation and control systems of vital aerospace and military craft.” Speyer, who used to work at Boeing and Raytheon , currently holds the Ronald and Valerie Sugar Chair of Engineering , established by the former CEO of Northrop Grumman.	Given Israel’s widely reported use of AI-assisted targeting for airstrikes in Gaza and Lebanon , UCLA’s DoD-funded research on Automatic Target Recognition is especially detestable. Professor Andrea Bertozzi was awarded a \$400,000 grant from the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency , a military intelligence arm of the DoD. This grant yielded a proceedings paper titled “Novel batch active learning approach and its application to synthetic aperture radar datasets” which proposed a system for partially supervised active learning to enhance the Automatic Target Recognition algorithm.	Futuristic weapons systems are also developed at UCLA. Researchers at UCLA’s Beam Control Lab (PI: Steve Gibson and Co-PI: Tsu-Chin Tsao) are developing laser weapons . Gibson and Tsao’s labs were part of a Multidisciplinary Research Initiative (MURI) managed by the DoD’s Joint Technology Office on High-Energy Lasers .
Jassby also has extensive ties to Israeli military development, including a variety of projects funded by US–Israel bilateral agencies (see table above). These projects involve collaborations with Israeli institutions including Technion-Israel Institute of Technology and Ben Gurion University .	Karagozian has received at least \$1.6M in Air Force Funding for her work . Karagozian’s CV states she sat on the panel of numerous Air Force Science Advisory Boards and lists students that end up working in the defense industry, with organizations such as Raytheon, Boeing, Aerospace Corporation, Defense Innovation Unit, Northrop Grumman, Lockheed-Martin, and Air Force Research Lab.	Speyer’s publications include DARPA-funded research in optimizing drone strikes , optimization models for battle , missile guidance and defense , and autonomous flight for fighter jets . Throughout his career, Speyer has also held two positions at Israeli universities ; and is a signatory on this letter condemning UCLA students protesting Israel’s genocide.	Similar algorithms for “target detection” are used in “Habsora” (or “The Gospel”), a key factor in the IDF’s “mass assassination factory” that emphasizes “quantity and not on quality.” Automatic Target Recognition is also a feature heralded by Israeli arms manufacturer Rafael in its SPICE-family air-to-surface missiles, developed in partnership with U.S. military contractors . Even more alarming, this technology was marketed on the UCLA Technology Publisher database. It has since been removed from the platform, suggesting that some external organization has already acquired this algorithm.	One project, titled “Tactical High-Energy Laser Weapon Alignment System Architecture Efficiencies”, received \$6.1 million in funding from the Office of Naval Research to develop “high-performance laser weapons” that “deliver energy to the target through the atmosphere in applications including the high altitude Airborne Laser (ABL), low altitude tactical battlefield scenarios, and marine scenarios”.

Commercializable Technology

Once proof-of-concept is achieved in the lab, the next step in the pipeline for military-funded research is commercialization by seeking out industry partners and early-stage investors. The UC plays an active role in this proces, through its various seed investment arms and its publicly searchable database of commercializable technologies ([UC-wide](#); [UCLA-specific](#)).

By searching through these databases with some keywords, we've found that UCLA's commercializable technologies are marketed for applications in **surveillance** ([night vision cameras](#), [video optimization](#), [video labeling](#), [satellite/geospatial surveillance](#), and [physical sensors](#)), **lasers** ([missile defense](#), [beam intensity and stability](#), [optimization framework](#)), **drones** ([modular drones](#)), and **military vehicles** ([hardware components](#), [hypersonic aircraft](#)).

UCLA's commercialization efforts reach new levels of absurdity with its attempts at recreating [Havana Syndrome](#), the widely publicized mysterious ailments experienced by diplomats and CIA agents at the U.S. embassy in Cuba. UCLA is currently seeking partners for a [technology](#) titled "**Systems for Covertly Creating Adverse Health Effects in Subjects**". In their pitch, UCLA describes this technology as "a novel **less-than-lethal method for creating health effects** in human subjects by directing undetectable waveforms toward the subject. This method might be capable of **causing the 'Havana Syndrome.'**" UCLA is apparently finding ways to produce in real time a weapon that deliberately causes psychological distress.

Academic Boycott

UCLA Y&S Nazarian Center for Israel Studies

UCLA maintains academic ties to Israel beyond the grants, labs, and research funding described above. UCLA is home to the [Y&S Nazarian Center for Israel Studies](#) led by Director Dov Waxman. This Center has historically invited controversial speakers to campus and promoted unethical narratives around Palestine. In February 2024, **the Center invited Former Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni** to [speak on campus](#). Livni was a key decision maker in Operation Cast Lead, a 2008 IDF mission which killed 1,400 Palestinians, the majority of whom were civilians. The United Kingdom issued a [warrant for Livni's arrest](#) citing her role in overseeing **war crimes** against Palestinians.

Study Abroad in Israel

UCLA also maintains connections to several Israeli universities through [study abroad programs](#), fellowships, seminars, academic agreements, and research collaborations. The Y&S Nazarian Center offers scholarships for students to study at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Israel Institute of Technology Technion/Neubauer—as part of the UC Education Abroad Program—as well as Ben Gurion University. UCLA offers the Mudie–Glaser Scholarship for Study at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Harry C. Sigman Scholarship for Study in Israel through the Nazarian Center. The Nazarian Center also offers [fellowships and other funding](#) opportunities offering up to \$10,000 for faculty, postdoctorates, graduate students, and undergraduate students who commit to research, presentations, travel, or course development promoting Israel. In September of 2023, UCLA established a new partnership with Hebrew University funded through the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Foundation to research school violence. UCLA was awarded \$1.3 million through this partnership to conduct research in both California (under Social Welfare Professor Ron Avi Astor of the Luskin School of Public Affairs) and Israel. After the initial pilot year, this partnership pledges to create a UCLA–Hebrew University Center operated jointly by the two universities. These institutions systematically discriminate against Palestinians while materially, culturally, and intellectually perpetuating occupation and genocide. By providing funds for students to visit a colonial state occupying Palestinian land, UCLA directly contributes to systems that uphold occupation, genocide, and apartheid.

Abolish

UCLA continues to use violent repressive tactics to suppress students and create an anti-Palestinian campus through the collaboration with several police departments, heightened campus surveillance and updated policies. We have already witnessed police forcibly unmasked UCLA students on national television, publicly doxxing and endangering their identities after the Palestinian Solidarity Encampment was subjected to attacks by Zionist hooligans and then by a heavily militarized police force. In the wake of this repressive crackdown on its own students, UCLA has doubled down on its efforts to create a police state, increasing the presence of private security and police officers on campuses, inventing the Office of Campus Safety led by the LAPD commander who oversaw the encampment response, creating a [snitching hot-line](#), and purchasing military-grade

gear for its police department. These policies and restrictions on civil liberties derive from authoritarian tactics, designed to intimidate students into acquiescence and to suppress dissenting speech.

UCLA has historically been a site of several student protest movements, including [tent cities](#) erected [to push the UC Regents to divest from the apartheid South African government in the early 1980s](#). Notably, the aforementioned example led to the Regents divesting \$3.1 billion in July 1986. UCLA students launched the “Palestine Solidarity Encampment” on April 25, 2024, also located in Royce Quad, following the legacy of successful student protests and a wave of other college campuses doing similar actions.

Palestinian Solidarity Encampment 2024

- UCLA allows a non-permitted counter-protest organized by the Israeli American Council (IAC) on April 28 resulting in documented [“physical attacks targeting the encampment](#).
- UCPD, LAPD, and CHP stand by and watch a [violent mob of over 100 attack the encampment](#) on April 30th with [“fireworks, bear spray, and handmade weapons”](#) leading to 25 hospitalizations of Pro-Palestine protesters.
- UCLA coordinates with UCPD, LAPD, LASD, and CHP to forcibly tear down the encampment on May 1st while [“firing dozens of concussive bombs into the encampment, launching flares, and shooting protestors with more than sixty ‘less lethal’ rounds”](#).
- UCLA allows for the arrest of 219 students, faculty and community members on their own campus on the morning of May 2nd during the police raid.

Continued Protests 2024

- UCLA orders the [arrest of approximately 43 individuals standing in Parking Structure 2 on May 6th morning](#) without clear communication regarding the charges placed on individuals.
- Police continue to issue unjustified dispersal orders on May 23rd when protesters [established another encampment in the patio of Kerckhoff Hall](#).
- UCLA and police ramp up their militarized response on June 10th arresting 27 students, faculty, and community members at an encampment location without a dispersal order.
- UCPD officers in riot gear attempt to kettle students on October 21st at the Gaza Solidarity Sukkah ultimately allowing for CSC security, police, and Zionists to violently tear down the religious demonstration.

Financial Expenditures on Police

Financial Costs of the Spring 2024 Encampment	
Police Force	Financial Costs
UCLA Police Department (UCLA PD)	UCLA accounted for approximately 41% of the total \$29.1 million spent across the UC system on security, law enforcement, and clean-up throughout the protests in spring quarter. A total of \$12.3 million (or about 8% of the revenue generated by UCLA’s investments in 2023) was spent on managing UCLA’s protests around the encampment. According to the UCLA Compliance Office’s estimates , \$11,781,917 of this amount was spent on security and law enforcement (March 1–June 25), while only \$471,760 was spent on building repairs, graffiti removal, and clean-up (March 1–June 25). These funds came from discretionary funding available to the Chancellor . In addition to the \$12.3 million spent between March 1 and June 25, 2024, UCLA PD officers were paid \$389,389 in overtime (April 25–May 25), which is not accounted for in the total costs estimated by the UCLA Compliance Office. The UC Office of the President also spent \$1 million on subduing campus protests between March 1 and June 25, 2024.
Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD)	LA City Controller Kenneth Mejia revealed that the taxpayer cost of LAPD’s response to UCLA protests between April 30 and May 3 is \$583,084. Further disclosures show that around 590 LAPD officers were dispatched to UCLA’s campus during this 4-day period, clocking 6,153 regular hours and 2,438 overtime hours. The overtime pay for LAPD officers responding to UCLA’s campus protests (April 30–May 7) amounted to \$243,444. This collaboration with LAPD indicates a shift since UCLA claimed to distance itself from LAPD following the LAPD’s use of a UCLA parking lot during crackdowns on protests in 2020, with Rick Brazier stating that UCLA will use these events as an opportunity to <i>improve its relations</i> with LAPD.
California Highway Patrol (CHP)	The California Highway Patrol also dispatched an unknown quantity of officers to the UCLA campus, paid at a rate of \$86.34–\$105.02 per hour with a minimum of 4-hour pay per assignment to the UCLA campus. This equates to \$345.35 minimum pay for each CHP officer dispatched to UCLA’s campus each day.
LA County Sheriff’s Department (LASD)	An unknown quantity of LASD officers were also dispatched to UCLA’s campus and were present in the range of April 30–May 2, but the details of their response have not been revealed.
Beverly Hills PD (BHPD)	11 BHPD officers and two sergeants were dispatched to the scene at UCLA’s campus between May 1 and 2, 2024.
Culver City PD (CCPD)	At least 17 CCPD officers were dispatched to the scene at UCLA’s campus between April 28 and May 2. The officers were paid \$67.51–\$145.88 per hour. A total of \$12,997.47 was paid to CCPD personnel by the California Governor’s Office of Emergency Services and Homeland Security for their response at UCLA’s campus during these five days.

Financial Costs of the Spring 2024 Encampment	
Police Force	Financial Costs
Santa Monica PD (SMPD)	The SMPD dispatched 18 officers and supervisors to UCLA’s campus. These officers and supervisors were present on two days: April 30 and May 2, 2024.
Private Security	UCLA contracts with the following private security entities and consultants on campus to keep a continual militarized campus: Contemporary Services Corporation (CSC), APEX Security Group, and 21st Century Policing Solutions. Exact information regarding costs of these contracts are not publicly disclosed, but “according to CSC’s contract with UCLA, security guard time is billed at \$36.27 per hour, with the guards getting paid \$26.92 of that hourly rate and the rest going to CSC.” CSC officers were on the clock and present during the Zionist mob attack on April 30th, but proceeded to run away when attackers approached the encampment . APEX is a subsidiary of CSC and was present the entire time on the steps between Powell and Kaplan during the Zionist attacks. After the Zionist attack and police raid, UCLA contracted 21st Century Policing Solutions to conduct a “third-party” investigation of the Spring 2024 protests, however many accused this review as being fraught with bias because it is conducted by a pro-policing agency.

UCPD Request for Military Equipment

Following the UC-ordered crackdown on its students and community members by these various law enforcement agencies, the **UCLA PD** requested approval by the UC Board of Regents Compliance and Audit Committee for additional military equipment in September 2024. The **UCPD** [confirmed](#) their current inventory of military equipment as the following:

- A bomb robot
- Breaching rounds
- Distraction devices consisting of light and sound to aid with arrests
- Long Range Acoustic Device (LRAD)
- “Less-lethal” tools:
 - Kinetic energy and impact launchers and munitions
 - Chemical agents (pepper spray and tear gas)
 - Impact munitions containing chemical agents

Office of Campus Safety

On May 5, 2024, Chancellor Gene Block announced that he was creating an Office of Campus Safety and moving oversight and management of UCLA PD and the Office of Emergency Management from the Office of the Administrative Vice Chancellor to this newly created office. First, Rick Braziel, who found no fault during the investigation of the failed response to the Uvalde, Texas shooting that killed 21 people, including 19 elementary school students, was temporarily hired to run the Office for a salary of \$52,000 per month. Braziel is responsible for overhauling the current campus security and safety systems by [hiring additional consultants](#) including Public Financial Management, 21CP Solutions, and the police crisis communication firm Julie Parker Communications. In response to faculty concern about the militarized campus, Braziel has called for putting security officers in “friendlier” outfits rather than any concentrated plans to decrease the number of cops on campus. In January of 2025, Steve Lurie, formal LAPD commander who was ‘key personnel’ in charge the night of the Zionist mob attack and police raid, was announced to take over Braziel’s position.

Time, Place and Manner (TPM) Policies

On September 4, 2024, UCLA announced four additional interim policies to the TPM policies. Updates to the **General Use of UCLA Property (850)** increase surveillance and profiling, violence towards unhoused individuals, and health risks for the UCLA community. Policy 850 now enforces curfew for all on UCLA property except for limited activities from midnight to 6am. Additionally, this policy strictly prohibits tents, campsites, or other structures that have not been pre-approved. Under the **Public Expression Activities (852)**, public expression has been expanded to “leaf-letting, marches, picketing, protesting, speech-making, demonstration, petition circulation, distribution and sale of non-commercial literature incidental to these activities, and similar speech related activities.” The updated TPM policies also come with a map for areas which public expression are allowed on campus, directly violating our rights to freedom of expression. Updates to **Organized Events (860)**

allow for profiling of individuals who UCLA administration deems to be non-affiliates. Updates to **Major Events Policy (862)** requires registration of major events at least two weeks ahead of their programming, placing spontaneous mass protests on campus in immediate violation of this update.

Conclusion

The students' demands since Fall 2023 are reasonable, clear, and actionable. As this white paper presents, even the limited publicly available data highlights how UCLA and the UC system is intricately connected to military corporations, Israeli corporations, and others that benefit from the occupation of the Palestinian people. UCLA and the UC system as a whole must reevaluate how its current policies reflect its ethical, financial, and social commitments to its students, staff, and faculty and seek to redress its failures to meet its mission as a public university focused on "the creation, dissemination, preservation and application of knowledge for the betterment of our global society."

WHO WE ARE:

The *Unmasking UC: What does Divestment mean to UCLA* White Paper and the *Unmasking UCLA: Divest Research* Executive Summary were assembled by Graduate Students for Justice in Palestine and the Rank and File for a Democratic Union caucus of UAW 4811 at UCLA. We are UCLA students fighting for the liberation of Palestine and UC divestment from genocide, war, and weapon manufacturing.

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